

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104432

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, PARM, EEWT, CVIS, SHUM, PL

SUBJECT: POLISH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S TALKS
IN DEPARTMENT: MULTILATERAL ISSUES, DISARMAMENT, CSCE,
BILATERAL RELATIONS

REF: STATE 102125

1. SPASOWSKI CONTINUED HIS TALKS AFTERNOON APRIL 28 WITH
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DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN MULTILATERAL ISSUES WITH DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY (IO) BAKER: LAW OF THE SEA, TRADE
LIBERALIZATION, NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, REFORM OF INTERNA-
TIONAL MONETARY INSTITUTIONS, AND DISARMAMENT. BAKER
STRESSED PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN STRENGTHENING ROLE OF
UN, OUR EFFORTS TO USE UN MACHINERY IN DEALING WITH
SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, INCREASED ATTENTION BY UN TO

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, U.S. PARTICIPATION IN UNCTAD COMMODITY NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, AND FACT THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO A USEFUL SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT DOES NOT MEAN WE SEE IT AS MOVE TOWARD WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. BAKER INVITED POLES TO SIGN ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION CONVENTION, NOTED U.S. SUPPORT FOR POLISH CHEMICAL WARFARE INITIATIVE AT 31ST UNGA AND FOR POLISH CANDIDATE TO BE CHAIRMAN OF SEABEDS TREATY REVIEW CONFERENCE IN GENEVA THIS JUNE.

2. ON TRADE, SPASOWSKI EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT FAILURE OF TOKYO ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS COULD MEAN GREATER PRESSURE FOR PROTECTIONISM. HE REFERRED TO PARIS CONFERENCE AND POLES' INTEREST IN STABLE RAW MATERIALS MARKETS, DESCRIBING EXISTING UN BODIES AS PREFERABLE TO THE LIMITED PARTICIPATION AT CIEC FOR HOLDING DIALOGUE. BAKER NOTED THAT MORE INTENSE CONSIDERATION OF PROBLEMS WAS POSSIBLE ONLY IN SMALL GROUP LIKE CIEC, FUTURE OF WHICH WOULD BE CLEAR ONLY AFTER SPRING MINISTERIAL. ON LAW OF THE SEA, SPASOWSKI MADE PITCH FOR SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR POLAND IN FISHING GROUNDS INCLUDED IN ECONOMIC ZONE, FOR LIMITING EXTENT OF JURISDICTION EXERCISED IN ECONOMIC ZONE BY COASTAL STATES, AND OBJECTED TO INTRODUCTION OF POLLUTION STANDARDS MORE RIGOROUS THAN THOSE OF IMCO. COMMENT: BAKER LATER PROVIDED POLES D/LOS RESPONSE, COPY OF WHICH POUCHED TO WARSAW.

3. RE DISARMAMENT, SPASOWSKI HAD UPBEAT VIEW OF PROS-
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PECTS FOR SPECIAL SESSION, WHICH--UNLIKE U.S.--POLAND SAW AS LINK TO WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. SPASOWSKI ASKED FOR U.S. POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, SPECIFICALLY: DID WE FAVOR GREATER ROLE FOR IMF AND WORLD BANK THAN IN PAST. BAKER SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THIS QUESTION, ON WHICH WE WOULD RESPOND TO POLES.

4. SPASOWSKI ENDED AFTERNOON TALKS APRIL 28 WITH MEETING IN ACDA WITH ACTING DEPUTY DIRECTOR SLOSS ON MBFR (REPORTED IN STATE 097859).

5. FOLLOWING ACDA MEETING SPASOWSKI ACCOMPANIED AMBASSADOR TRAMPCZYNSKI TO THE SECRETARY'S RECEPTION FOR EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION. SPASOWSKI LATER SAID THIS HAD PROVIDED MOST WELCOME OPPORTUNITY FOR HIM TO TALK BRIEFLY WITH THE SECRETARY.

6. MORNING OF APRIL 29 WAS DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF CSCE, WITH TWO MEMBERS OF CSCE COMMISSION STAFF JOINING

DEPARTMENT DELEGATION HEADED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARIES LOWENSTEIN AND ARMITAGE. LOWENSTEIN LED OFF THE SUMMARY OF OUR PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE AND X-TATIONS OR THAT MEETING, STRESSING IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. SPASOWSKI SAID POLAND FAVORED A REALISTIC AND NON-SELECTIVE APPROACH TO FINAL ACT AT BELGRADE MEETING; I.E., BASKET III ISSUES SHOULD RECEIVE EQUAL ATTENTION WITH OTHER ISSUES. HE MADE IT CLEAR NONETHELESS THAT BASKET II ISSUES, ESPECIALLY INCREASED EC-CEMA COOPERATION, ASSUMED PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR

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POLAND. THE BULK OF SPASOWSKI'S PRESENTATION ON CSCE WAS REVIEW OF POLISH PERFORMANCE IN ALL THREE BASKETS. SPASOWSKI PRESENTED A PARTICULARLY STRONG DEFENSE OF POLISH PRACTICES IN FAMILY REUNIFICATION WITHOUT WAITING FOR US TO RAISE SUBJECT. HE CONFIRMED POLES' DESIRE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DEAL WITH FAMILY REUNIFICATION "IN KEEPING WITH FINAL ACT," RESOLVING CASES GENUINELY INVOLVING FAMILY SEPARATION AND HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS BUT NOT THOSE INVOLVING PEOPLE WHO REALLY WANT TO LEAVE POLAND FOR ECONOMIC REASONS. GOP HAD TO TAKE POLAND'S NATIONAL INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT: "PROTECTION OF STATE AND OF NATIONHOOD." HE SAID POLAND HAD NEVER ADOPTED POLICY OF EMIGRATION BUT WOULD GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO CASES WHERE CLOSE FAMILY/HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS WERE PRESENT. HE COMPLAINED THAT POLES SOMETIMES HAD IMPRESSION U.S. EXPRESSIONS COME FROM INTERESTS OTHER THAN PURELY HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. U.S. SIDE THEN SET RECORD STRAIGHT: WE CANNOT ACCEPT RESTRICTIVE DEFINITION OF FAMILY; KEY ELEMENT SHOULD BE CHOICE OF DIVIDED FAMILY MEMBERS ABOUT WHICH COUNTRY THEY WISH TO LIVE IN; FAMILY REUNIFICATION PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT HAVE DRAWN BY FAR THE GREATEST PUBLIC INTEREST IN U.S.

7. REGARDING PROCEDURE FOR THE BELGRADE MEETINGS, SPASOWSKI RECOGNIZED THAT REVIEW OF PAST PERFORMANCE SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT BELGRADE, BUT STATED THAT THE MAIN MEETING SHOULD BE "ORIENTED TO THE FUTURE", AND THAT HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD NOT RECEIVE UNDUE EMPHASIS. U.S. SIDE EXPRESSED OUR POLICY OF NOT TAKING SELECTIVE APPROACH IN REVIEWING CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. SPASOWSKI CLAIMED THAT IN RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE POLES SEVERAL (UNSPECIFIED) WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS STANCE AND THAT SIMILAR CONCERNS WERE FELT IN WARSAW. SPASOWSKI SAID HE HOPED THE U.S. CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD NOT DAMAGE DETENTE BUT WANTED IT TO BE VERY CLEAR THAT HE

CONSIDERED U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS TO BE A REALLY GOOD
EXAMPLE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT
POLITICAL SYSTEMS, PERHAPS EVEN "THE MODEL." SPASOWSKI
DID NOT DISPUTE U.S. STATEMENT THAT NO ARTIFICIAL DEAD-
LINES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR TERMINATION OF WORK AT
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BELGRADE. WE SAID THREE MONTHS MIGHT BE CONSERVATIVE
ESTIMATE FOR WORK OF MAIN MEETING. SPASOWSKI SAID POLES'
APPROACH WAS NOT DIFFERENT FROM OURS. HE PERSONALLY
FELT THAT THREE MONTHS WAS "REASONABLE PERIOD."
COMMENT: ON THIS POINT, SPASOWSKI'S VIEWS SEEM TO
DIFFER FROM THE SOVIET POSITION FAVORING A DEFINITE
CUTOFF DATE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY FURTHER

INDICATIONS THE EMBASSY MAY HAVE REGARDING POLISH POSI-
TION. ALSO WORTH NOTING THAT MEMBER POLISH DELEGATION
(KINAST) LATER TOLD US HE WAS PLEASED AND RELIEVED TO
LEARN THAT OUR OBJECT,VE; FOR BELGRADE MEETING WERE NOT
SO DIFFERENT FROM THEIRS AFTER ALL.

8. DEPUTY SECRETARY RECEIVED SPASOWSKI AFTERNOON OF
APRIL 29. MEETING WAS BOTH COURTESY CALL AND SUBSTANTIVE
TALK. DEPUTY SECRETARY EXPRESSED IMPORTANCE U.S.
ATTRIBUTES TO FURTHER IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH POLAND,
LOOKED FOR BILATERAL TRADE TO CONTINUE TO GROW AND
STRESSED THAT WE WANT MORE FLEXIBLE HANDLING OF DIVIDED
FAMILY CASES TO BE PART OF THIS EXPANDING RELATIONSHIP.
SPASOWSKI SAID HE APPRECIATED RECEPTION HE HAD BEEN GIVEN
IN WASHINGTON; HIS GOVERNMENT SHARED OUR HIGH EVALUATION
OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS--FOR HISTORICAL REASONS AND
NOW PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC TIES U.S. HELD
SPECIAL POSITION FOR POLES. HE CHARACTERIZED GIEREK
AS "DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR POLAND
TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS RELATIONSHIP." SPASOWSKI MERELY
ALLUDED TO "A FEW POINTS" WORRYING POLES IN ECONOMIC
AREA AND HOPED TRADE TARGET WILL BE REACHED. HE COM-
MITTED HIS SIDE TO DO VERY BEST IT CAN TO ACT ON OUR
LISTS INVOLVING REQUESTS TO ALLOW POLES TO JOIN FAMILY
MEMBERS IN U.S., ALTHOUGH HE STRESSED LIMITATION OF
"REAL FAMILY SEPARATION" AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS.

9. SPASOWSKI WAS ADAMANT THAT RECENT IMPROVEMENT
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IN POLISH-U.S. RELATIONS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED

IN ABSENCE OF DETENTE. DEPUTY SECRETARY GAVE EXPLICIT REASSURANCE ABOUT U.S. DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE POLICY OF WORKING FOR DETENTE, FRAMEWORK OF WHICH WAS SOLID, AND REVIEWED STATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WHEN DEPUTY SECRETARY REPORTED SATISFACTION EXPRESSED TO HIM BY BONN GOVERNMENT OVER PROGRESS OF ETHNIC GERMAN EMIGRATION SPASOWSKI AGREED THIS WAS GOING WELL BUT REFERRED TO HIS OWN EARLIER EXPRESSION OF APPREHENSION THAT "REVISIONIST" TROUBLES HAD ARISEN IN FRG TO AFFECT POLISH-WEST GERMAN RELATIONS. SPASOWSKI SAID IN CONNECTION WITH GIEREK'S COMMITMENT TO POLAND'S RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S. THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD AT A CONVENIENT TIME TO DISCUSS FUTURE VISITS TO BE MADE"AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL." CHRISTOPHER

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